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The Christian Century

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Questions for the Senate
An Editorial

The Catholic Plan
Book Review

What the Supreme Court Said
By Charles Clayton Morrison

New Steps Toward Peace
By Daniel and Squires

JUNE 8, 1949

In This Issue

CUTHBERT DANIEL and ARTHUR M. SQUIRES conclude this week the series of six articles on "A Road to Atomic Peace" which began in the issue of May 4. Interest in this series has mounted steadily; letters received in the office of The Christian Century speak of these articles as the most important bearing on the future of atomic power developments to appear in any American publication. As announced elsewhere, reprints of these articles will be available for use in discussion groups and for widespread circulation. Both Mr. Daniel and Dr. Squires took part in the original Manhattan Project but have now returned to private employment. They are available for speaking engagements before groups interested in the control of atomic power, and may be addressed at the Association of Scientists for Atomic Education, Room 512, 8 West 40th St., New York, N. Y.

CHARLES CLAYTON MORRISON is the maker of the undenominational Christian Century. As editor from 1908 to 1947 he won for this paper its international reputation. He now serves it as contributing editor. Dr. Morrison has just returned from an extensive series of lectures on the Pacific coast, many of them dealing with the subject of church-state relations in the American school system. Since so much confusion persists as to the exact meaning of the Supreme Court's decision in the McCullom case (the Champaign, Ill., released time case) we have asked Dr. Morrison, in a series of three articles, to review both the verdict in that historic case and the dissent of the one justice who refused to concur. He will also comment on the supplementary opinions of justices who concurred in the verdict.

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The Christian Century

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Calendar of Coming Events

June 1-30. Displaced Persons Campaign Action Month (Church World Service).
June 6-10. American Lutheran Church Northwestern District Annual Convention, Pacific Lutheran College, Parkland, Wash.
June 6-11. National Fellowship of Indian Workers Triennial Conference, Bacone, Okla.
June 7-10. Christian Convocation, Duke University, Durham, N. C.
June 7-12. Augustana Lutheran Church 90th Annual Convention, Minneapolis.
June 8-12. Lutheran Free Church 53rd Annual Convention, Marris, Minn.
June 8-18. Council of the United Bible Societies Fourth Annual Meeting, New York.
June 8-24. Ecumenical Institute Study Course for Ministers, Celigny, Switzerland.
June 10-12. Grinnell College Institute of International Affairs, Grinnell, Iowa; theme: "Problems of the Middle East."
June 11-16. Church Conference of Social Work, Cleveland.
June 12-21. International Lutheran Institute, conducted by the National Lutheran Council, Bad Boll, Germany; theme: "The Lutheran Church in the Present World Situation."
June 13-16. New York Synod, United Lutheran Church, Convention, Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, Buffalo.
June 14. Festival Service, 300th Anniversary of Lutheranism in New York State, Buffalo; Franklin Clark Fry, speaker.
June 14-19. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Ocean Grove, N. J.
June 15-19. Congress of Racial Equality Conference Convention, Camp Joy, Cincinnati.
June 15-19. Finnish Suomi Synod 60th Annual Convention, Gardner, Mass.
June 15-23. Northern Baptist Convention National Youth Conference, Green Lake, Wis.
June 16-23. Northfield Girls' Conference, East Northfield, Mass.
June 17-20. Conference on Cooperative Christian Education (I.C.R.E.), Williams Bay, Wis.
June 17-24. International Congregational Church Council, Wellesley, Mass.
June 19-20. Lutheran Deaconess Conference in America 19th Annual Meeting, Milwaukee.
June 20-22. Lutheran Welfare Conference 23rd Annual Convention, Milwaukee.
June 20-26. National Baptist Sunday School and Training Union Congress, Memphis.
June 20-27. World's Y.W.C.A. Executive Committee, Geneva, Switzerland.
June 20-July 30. Protestant Radio Commission-N.B.C. Summer Radio Institute, U.C.L.A., Los Angeles.
June 21-25. A.F.S.C. Institute of International Relations, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.
June 21-26. Danish Evangelical Lutheran Church 72nd Annual Convention, Greenville, Mich.
June 28-July 6. World Council of Churches Study Department Conference, Oxford, England.
June 29-July 5. World Council of Churches Commissions on Evangelism and the Bible, Oxford.
July 2-4. Joint Meeting, Executives and Delegates, World Council of Churches and International Missionary Council, Oxford.
July 4-6. World Council of Churches Commission of the Churches on International Affairs, Oxford.
July 6-8. World Council of Churches Executive Committee, Chichester, England.
July 9-15. World Council of Churches Central Committee, Chichester.
July 15-20. World Council of Churches Commission on Faith and Order, Chichester.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The Christian Century

UNDENOMINATIONAL

VOLUME LXVI CHICAGO, JUNE 8, 1949 NUMBER 23

EDITORIAL

The Call for World Government Grows

LEGISLATURES in twenty-one states have adopted resolutions favoring the establishment of a world government. These resolutions fall into three classifications. In Tennessee the legislature authorized that state to elect delegates to a world constituent assembly, such as has been projected to meet in Geneva, possibly next year, to draw up a constitution for a federal world state. California's legislature calls for a constitutional convention in this country to amend the federal Constitution "to expedite and insure the participation of the United States in a world federal government, open to all nations, with powers which, while defined and limited, shall be adequate to preserve peace." The legislatures of Maine, New Jersey, North Carolina, Florida and Connecticut have approved this proposal, which 32 states must adopt before it can become effective. The Humber resolution—a general approval of the idea of world government named for its author and indefatigable champion, Richard Lee Humber—has been adopted by the legislatures of 19 states: Alabama, Arkansas, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Tennessee, Utah, Virginia and Washington. Proposals for popular referendums for or against American entrance into a world government are pending in Oklahoma, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. World government, we are told, is an impossibility at this time, and its agitation therefore a form of political irresponsibility or naiveté. But a conscience is growing on the folly of unrestricted national sovereignty. It may produce startling effects sooner than most of us have believed possible.

Churches Increase D.P. Assurances

DURING MAY the number of D.P. job and home assurances received from Protestant churches by Church World Service doubled the previous monthly average of 330. This represents a heartening response to the emergency appeal for help issued by this agency of all the churches. It is to be hoped that it is only a beginning of the awakening of the Protestant conscience to this shamefully neglected opportunity. The month of June has been set aside for pressing the appeal for such assurances, which are necessary for the immigration of war victims to America. During this month each church that has not yet done so should canvass its membership to see if it is not possible for it to take responsibility for at least one family. It is still "tough to be a Protestant" if one inhabits a displaced persons camp in Europe. Of the 80,000 assurances on file with the D.P. commission in Washington, 34 per cent are Jewish, 33 per cent are Roman Catholic, 7 per cent are Lutheran and 4 per cent represent all the 23 other Protestant denominations represented in Church World Service. Yet 33 per cent of the displaced persons in Europe are Protestant! What must they think of the Christian compassion of American Protestantism? The recent General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., adopted a statement urging "every congregation to provide a home for at least one of these homeless families." It applauded a Presbyterian pastor who announced that his church had done so, and it extended a warm welcome to the Latvian family which he introduced to the assembly. Perhaps for the first time many of the commissioners realized that the displaced person is not a "problem," not an intellectual abstraction, but a living soul whose hopes and life depend upon the actions of members of the Protestant churches of America. That realization must grow to include us all.

Exploitation of D.P.'s Must Be Stopped!

RUMORS have been coming out of the south for weeks that some of the European displaced persons settled on Louisiana plantations have found themselves in virtual peonage. Now these rumors have been substantiated. In an interview given the *New York Times* on May 26, Fr. J. Stanley Ormsby, assistant executive director of the National Catholic Bishops Resettlement Program, told of the plight in which he found 300 D.P.'s on two trips he made to sugar plantations near New Orleans. Conditions were not only as bad as had been reported, Father Ormsby declared; in some case they were "far worse." Housing was wretched. Food was lacking. Instead of the firewood the plantation companies had promised the department of agriculture they would supply, heating plants had been installed in the houses and the D.P.'s were left to buy their own fuel. But they had no means of doing so, since the purchase of furniture and other necessities, mostly made at company stores, "always amounted to as much as wages, or more." "The net result on some plantations," said Father Ormsby, "amounts to paying laborers nothing at all." In other words, the plantations seem to have used the humanitarian intentions of the D.P. law to supply

themselves with cheap labor which they have treated in the worst sharecropper fashion. It is good to know that the Catholic resettlement organization has brought this scandal into the light and is getting these particular D.P.'s resettled where they will have a chance for a decent life. But the government, particularly the immigration bureau, has a moral responsibility to see that no more such human exploitation is permitted under cover of the D.P. program.

Church Debates Civil Rights and Color

ONE OF the most thoughtful discussions of the relation of Christian citizens to an important public issue to be presented to a church body this year is a study of the relation of state's rights and human rights in the United States, and particularly in the south. It was submitted to the 1949 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., by a group headed by John H. Marion, Jr., of Richmond, Virginia. This 9,000-word document deserves wide study by churchmen in every part of the country. It starts with the declaration that the conflict over civil rights has immense and lasting significance to the nation as a whole, since it involves "a problem of paramount moral importance to every American." The document points out that the south's insistence on state's rights, "in opposition to federally enforced civil rights, has deep and tenacious roots in southern history and southern feelings." It goes on to assert that "the present-day claims of our American minorities to full civil rights have a sound moral and historical basis." It points out that the south "has made commendable progress in extending and protecting civil rights of its minority peoples, but these rights are still widely denied or restricted by unequal treatment in many places." The review of progress in this area is genuinely reassuring. The report recognizes that "any sound program for safeguarding human rights must recognize the role of both education and legislation." It notes the rising demand outside the south for federal enforcement of civil rights and says that regardless of the legal status of state's rights, "no state has a moral right to deprive people of their civil rights." It concludes by summarizing the "large unfinished task in the field of education and action concerning human rights" which lies before the churches, and insists that their vitality cannot be preserved unless they undertake this task. The report should be widely distributed and studied in church boards and classes.

Presbyterian Bodies Plan to Unite

MEETING in the Quaker environment of Buck Hill Falls in Pennsylvania, two presbyterian denominations have approved a revised plan for merger. They are the Reformed Church in America and the United Presbyterian Church. The plan must still be approved by the 47 "classes" of the Reformed Church and the 51 presbyteries of the United Presbyterian. But the fact that there were only a few dissenting votes in the national assemblies indicates that the necessary three-fourths majority in these district bodies is likely to be forthcoming. If this happens, the 1950 denominational assemblies will probably be the last before union is completed. This will bring into existence a new denomination of 382,000 members. It will be called the United Presbyterian Reformed Church—a title whose awkwardness offers reason for hope that it will not have to be suffered indefinitely. Whether it will or not depends on a number of developments which must still run their course. If the southern Presbyterian Church accepts the challenge of the Presbyterian, U.S.A., General Assembly and joins in an invitation to all churches holding the Reformed tradition to consider union, a strong body of opinion in the two bodies now merging would favor the larger integration. The reunion of this Protestant family is highly desirable and eventually it is bound to come about. The union of the United Presbyterian and the Reformed churches brings together two denominations which originated respectively in Scotland and Holland. The former made its appearance in America in 1753 and the latter goes back to 1628. Both have made a point of stressing Calvinistic doctrine. It is a good sign that they have at last opened the way to as much cooperation as Knox and Calvin manifested in their time. But they are not the only heirs of the Reformed tradition. How long will be required for them to discover that fact?

Orthodox Church Affirms Its Infallibility

IN THE RECENT reaffirmation of the Greek Orthodox Church's claim to infallibility coupled with a declaration of the duty of that church to engage in fraternal conference with non-Orthodox churches, there is something that calls for deep sympathy and also something that awakens apprehensions as to the genuineness of Orthodox participation in the ecumenical movement. In a statement published in Greece and disseminated by the Ecumenical Press Service, a representative of Orthodoxy explains: (a) that it would be "a grave sin of pride" not to enter into relations with the Western churches through which "the Holy Spirit has brought such splendid fruits"; (b) that "such contacts should under no circumstances be the foundation of a federation of churches which would claim to be, to replace or to absorb the One Holy Catholic Apostolic Church"; (c) that the Eastern Orthodox Church *does* claim to be "the one saving and infallible church," and that Karl Barth erred when he said at Amsterdam that no church represented there made any such claim; and (d) that, since "the Orthodox Church is by its very definition the sole infallible holder of the Apostolic tradition," its representatives "attend ecumenical gatherings in order to bear witness among the non-Orthodox to Revealed Truth" and "have nothing to learn" where dogma is concerned. This statement would be more ominous than it is if complete doctrinal agreement were essential to the fulfillment of the ecumenical idea. There are plenty of theologians who are immovable even if they do not claim to be infallible. But the infallibility complex sets a seal on doctrinal divergences and guarantees their continuance. However, the Orthodox are anxious that their claim should not be attributed to pride. They admit that they have much to learn from others in every field except dogma. As to dogma, they come into conferences to teach, not to learn. This attitude does not, in our judg-

ment, invalidate the membership of the Orthodox in the World Council of Churches or their participation in its conferences. But it certainly defines the nature of their participation in such a way as seriously to limit its value to all concerned.

Government Billions Threaten Educational Freedom

FROM time to time this paper has expressed misgivings as to what would happen to the freedom of American schools and colleges if these became dependent on federal agencies for an important part of their incomes. Here and there a few alert educators have voiced the same warning. We confess, however, that we had no idea how much money the federal government is already pouring into our educational institutions or how great the danger to their liberty of policy has already become. On May 23 what had been a vague apprehension turned into definite knowledge, for on that day the *New York Times* printed a 5-column summary of a report by a Hoover commission task force. "Federal funds for education," this began, "have skyrocketed to the record sum of $3,400,000,000 this year, jumping from $100,000,000 in 1940. Two hundred separate educational programs are sponsored by more than a score of federal departments and agencies. Millions of dollars a year have been lost meanwhile through duplication of effort, inefficiency, overlapping of programs and maintenance of unnecessary administrative staffs." Then the *Times* proceeded to give details. "It is not unusual," it said, "for a university to get 50 per cent or more of its income from federal sources." The largest payments are coming from the Veterans Administration, the national military establishment and the Atomic Energy Commission. Only 1 per cent of the federal funds is administered by the U.S. Office of Education. The danger to the independence of the colleges comes, not from any coordinated drive by federal agencies, but from the lack of coordination in their activities and the consequent determination by each agency to see that its project is carried out in the manner it prescribes without reference to educational policies as a whole.

Shanghai Taken By Communists

WHEN Singapore fell to the Japanese a few weeks after Pearl Harbor an electric shock was felt around the world. The ease with which the Asiatic invaders swarmed down the Malayan peninsula and overwhelmed what had been believed to be an impregnable bastion of European empire told all thoughtful men, West and East, that one chapter in modern history had closed and that a new one was opening. No such shock has followed the Communist capture of Shanghai. This is because the event had been so long anticipated that it had lost any element of dramatic surprise. Shanghai itself welcomed its conquerors. The Chinese bankers and industrialists there can have few illusions as to what, within a few months, will probably happen to their wealth and perhaps to their persons. At the moment, however, anything seems to them preferable to the chaos which has accompanied the disintegration of the Kuomintang nationalist government. It is agreed by all newspaper correspondents on the spot that the Communist troops who took over the city were well disciplined and that they speedily restored order. Despite the lack of world excitement, however, it should be recognized that the historic importance of Shanghai's capture by the Communists may rank with that of Singapore. If the fall of Singapore, the great Western military base in southeast Asia, closed the chapter on the imperialism of the 18th and 19th centuries, the fall of Shanghai, the great commercial base where Western and Chinese capitalism sought to collaborate for the control of the new markets of Asia, opens another chapter whose nature cannot be foretold, except that it will be revolutionary in the fullest sense of that term. Shanghai may conquer the Chinese Communists as, in the deepest sense, it did the original noble purposes of the Kuomintang and Chiang Kai-shek. But if the Communists conquer it, the effect will eventually be felt in the remotest village in Asia.

Sidelights on the Current News

WITH its July 6 issue the *Christian News Letter* of London will suspend publication. The reason is said to be not financial but inability to discover another journalist capable of taking over the editorial load now that Mrs. Kathleen Bliss, the editor, feels forced by family duties to retire. Non-Romanist church journalism in England will be greatly weakened by the disappearance of this pocket-sized fortnightly. J. H. Oldham, its founder, made it preeminently the voice of independent, ecumenical religious journalism in the British Isles, and Mrs. Bliss, after succeeding Dr. Oldham, held it at a high level. . . . Look for the next church-state explosion in Czechoslovakia. Observers have said that Archbishop Josef Beran of Prague is so much more of a diplomat than Cardinal Mindszenty that relations between the Roman Church and the Communist government would never be allowed to reach the crisis in Czechoslovakia they have in Hungary. It looks now, however, as though diplomacy would not suffice to avoid a showdown. . . . Mark A. Dawber is to retire on October 1 as executive secretary of the Home Missions Council, where he has done one of the most progressive jobs of interdenominational leadership in American Protestant history. He will be succeeded by I. George Nace, home missions secretary of the Evangelical and Reformed Church. . . . The "Report from America" column by M. R. Werner, which had appeared weekly in the European edition of the *New York Herald Tribune* since June 1947, abruptly disappeared recently. A letter from Mr. Werner to the *New Statesman* of London explains why. It seems that Mr. Werner mentioned, somewhat critically, the methods used by Cardinal Spellman in dealing with striking gravediggers, almost all of them Catholics, at a New York cemetery. Cardinal Spellman wrote a letter to the owners of the *Herald Tribune*. The Werner column was dropped immediately. When will these journalists begin to learn the facts of life? . . . Another religious liberty issue has been started on its long journey to the Supreme Court by the decision of a Pennsylvania county court that members of the Amish faith cannot be forced to obey that

state's compulsory school laws. Pennsylvania requires school attendance until 18. Amish parents take their children out to work on their farms at 15. The county judge held that religious freedom under the Constitution protects their right to do so. The school authorities will appeal.

Questions for the Senate

HEARINGS on the proposed North Atlantic Treaty have been completed. Some Washington correspondents complain that the hearings developed little light and not much heat. A few who spoke against ratification have written us criticizing the perfunctory attention accorded them. All this, however, was to be expected in hearings whose outcome was certain from the start. The Senate foreign relations committee held the hearings—frequently with only the chairman or at most two or three members in attendance—not to affect its members' thinking but to go through the motions prescribed by democratic precedent. The hearings were strictly, in the politician's familiar phrase, "for the record." Now the foreign relations committee will do what it has known all along it would do—recommend ratification to the Senate. The recommendation may be unanimous.

It is no secret in Washington that there are many senators who have grave misgivings about the wisdom of committing the nation to this military alliance but who, nevertheless, expect to vote for it. It is because so many are expected thus to vote, so to speak, with their fingers crossed, that the press associations forecast ratification by a wide margin. Many of these same senators, the press associations also report, are saying privately that any dangers lurking in the pact can be held in check by not voting for the military lend-lease program which has been submitted to Congress to implement the pact. As of today, so many senators are talking that way that correspondents who are sure the pact will pass declare it is not at all sure the administration's bill will go through to grant $1,130,000,000 this year in arms and military supplies to the other members of the alliance. This implies other, presumably much larger, appropriations in subsequent years.

Any senator who tells himself that he can justify a vote for the pact "which really doesn't mean much" by voting against the subsequent arms bill is deceiving himself and trying to deceive his constituents. For one thing, the pact *does* mean much. It means the most momentous change in the foreign policy of the United States certainly since the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine, possibly since the founding of the republic. For another, once the pact is ratified the administration and fighting forces will generate greater moral and political pressure for passage of the arms appropriation than they have generated for the pact itself. And for still another, if the pact should be adopted and then the promised military aid denied western Europe, the effect on our relations with the other nations in the alliance would be catastrophic.

We trust, therefore, that senators will not try to fool either themselves or the nation when the pact comes before them. The North Atlantic Treaty, a 20-year military alliance with eleven other nations, is the issue—the *real* issue. This will change the foreign policy of the United States from one of independent action to one of permanent military alliances involving guarantees to governments whose policies are beyond our control. If this fundamental change in our national policy is made, it would be military folly and political stupidity not to give the new policy whatever implementation the men who must administer it declare it will require.

For this reason we trust that any senators who have been toying with the idea of voting for the alliance and then voting against the military lend-lease bill will drop that intention and prepare to face and deal with the alliance on its merits. Does the present world situation require this *basic* change in American foreign policy? That is the question which every responsible, patriotic senator should be preparing to answer as this vote nears. And we wish to suggest that, in seeking to answer that question, members of the Senate should see that the hearings on the treaty have left confronting them certain other questions which so far have by no means been satisfactorily answered. Let us list some of these prior and important questions.

1. Has the impossibility of dealing with Russia and the Communist nations through the ordinary methods of diplomacy and negotiation and within the framework of the United Nations been so finally established that the time has come to make an irrevocable division of the world into two power groups, henceforth dealing with each other on a basis of competitive military strength? The history of Europe has been a record of attempts to keep the peace by that method, and it is a disillusioning record. Nevertheless, are we now ready to say that our experience with the Soviet Union proves that there is no other method open now that leadership in international life has fallen to us?

2. Does this proposed military alliance mean the same thing to us and to our prospective allies? If not, is it likely to be a source of confidence and strength, or of recrimination and divisive intrigue? Here we have in mind, of course, the unresolved contradictions between the statement of General Bradley, supported by Secretary Acheson, that the alliance must spare western Europe another occupation and liberation, and the statements by members of the Senate foreign relations committee that the alliance would not commit this country to defend western Europe's frontiers against a Russian invasion. In this connection, there must be borne in mind the statements by Premier Queuille and other French political and military leaders that an alliance which did not guarantee France against invasion would, from the French viewpoint, be worthless.

3. Will the attempt to form a military alliance that can throw back a Russian advance against western Europe lead to the rearmament of Germany—or of as much of Germany as we can control—and of Italy? From a military standpoint can the alliance be regarded as complete or secure against swift penetration and outflanking if these two potential fighting forces and arsenals are not in it? Yet the peace treaty with Italy includes, as a supposed gain from the recent war, the virtual disarmament of Italy. And it was the universal belief of those who fought that war that they were fighting for a disarmed Germany as one of the requisites of lasting European peace.

4. Would a military alliance of this sort and with these allies implicate the United States in efforts to restore or maintain colonial empires? It has been claimed that this could be guarded against by prohibiting the use of American weapons in colonial campaigns. But this would not meet the issue if the American military guarantee of European colonial powers enabled them to strip their home defenses and employ their major forces—as in Indo-China and Indonesia, where France and Holland now have armies of more than 100,000 in action—for suppressing colonial uprisings. In the United Nations the United States has already become suspect to an unfortunate degree of readiness to cooperate in re-establishing a colonial regime in North Africa. Would this alliance so work as to bring us under even greater suspicion in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

5. Would a foreign policy based on such a military alliance increase the power of the military services in controlling the government and course of the United States? The Senate has shown a watchful jealousy lest this pact trespass on its war-declaring powers under the Constitution. But that is largely an academic issue. Modern wars, we have learned, come in ways which make declarations only a formal recognition of a decision already reached. In the case of atomic wars, it is by no means sure that there will be time for even this formal recognition. Such issues accordingly can be left to the traditionalists. What matters concretely now is whether, with national policy resting on a military alliance, military men will in the nature of things determine the controlling factors in that policy. How can it be otherwise?

6. Will the setting up of this military alliance involve the United States in demands for other similar alliances and thus eventually impose on this nation a burden of military responsibility of unmanageable proportions? It has been said that this alliance is simply another Rio pact. It is far more. It is a pledge to use the power of this nation to repel any attack on eleven other nations, with a dangerous lack of definition as to what is covered by "attack." Conversations have already begun in London for a parallel Mediterranean pact, with American guarantees of the same sort. The prime minister of Australia says that plans for a parallel Pacific pact are under way. Mr. Acheson's artfully worded statement that "the United States is not currently considering" such further alliances is, to those familiar with the language of diplomacy, almost an admission that such alliances are in prospect. How much of this sort of thing can the United States afford? How great are the military liabilities it is prepared to discharge?

These are by no means all the questions which the North Atlantic Treaty raises. But these are some of the questions that are not to be dismissed by light-minded statements that the treaty means little in and of itself. And all these questions lead straight back to that decisive question put at the head of the list: In view of the gravity of these results which can grow out of the ratification of this alliance, has the crisis in our relations with Russia reached the point where it requires this *basic* change in our nation's historic foreign policy? Some senators will still answer this in the affirmative. But the longer they think in terms of possible consequences, the less confident, we believe, will that affirmative be. If consequences are considered long enough and searchingly enough, the vote on ratification of this military alliance may prove far different from what has been forecast.

Signs of Old Age

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: If you will be my psychoanalyst for a minute, I will let go with some free association. I have a mean little obsession which needs attention. I am pursued by a fear that I have passed into extreme middle age—this in spite of the fact that the limits which I have set for middle age become more expansive with each birthday. Perhaps I am in what is called "deep middle age." That sounds like something stuck in the mud. Perhaps I am.

It all comes from a couple of things I have read which seem to stand up and glare at me and point a finger and shout, "Thou art the man!"

The first wallop came, appropriately, from that old tennis walloper Bill Tilden. He said that a sure sign of middle age in tennis is when you begin to play a defensive game. And, he added, that goes for any game. Touchdowns are never made by a strong defensive line. Runs in baseball are never made by defensive fielding. When defense rather than attack becomes the main thing, middle age has set in. "Well," I said, "that's my photograph. I can detect a defensive game coming on me like the stealthy approach of arthritis. I find myself crying out, 'Hold that line!' much more often than 'Touchdown!' "

The other wallop came from Arthur T. Hadley, once president of Yale. It is passed on by his son Morris Hadley in the biography of his father just published. In his later years Dr. Hadley said in effect that he must be getting old, for he could always see two sides to every question so strongly that it became harder and harder to come down on one side.

If that double vision is a sign of age, I will soon be crowding Methuselah, and no doubt will end up like that noble inquiring neutral, the donkey who starved to death between two haystacks while trying to make up his mind which of the stacks to eat from first.

I was talking this over with my pastor, the rector of St. John's-by-the-Gas-Station, but got small comfort; instead, a fishy eye which seemed to say, "You surely have a bad case." Then I caught the gleam that comes into a preacher's eye when he sees a sermon from afar. "Those may be," he said, "the signs of old age in a church. Anyhow, St. John's is showing strong signs of a defensive game this year, building moats and walls instead of making sallies. They sing 'Hold the Fort' with a lot more gusto than they put into

"Lead on, O King Eternal
The day of march has come.

"They did most of their marching years ago. And the most resounding decision they have reached in the last year was that there is much to be said on both sides. And, boy, do they say it!"

Yours, SIMEON STYLITES.

Final Article in the Series on
'A Road to Atomic Peace'

Next Steps on the Road to Peace

By Cuthbert Daniel and Arthur M. Squires

SUPPOSE it works. Suppose the U.S.S.R. admits inspectors to see that all large-scale atomic enterprise and all weapon development are stopped. What next? To maintain the advantage in the disarmament race, the United States must make another step even as the U.S.S.R. takes its first step toward disarmament. Destruction of atomic fuel usable in bombs (thereby putting atomic control on a zero-quota basis), stopping manufacture of long-range planes, stopping mass infantry training programs—these and other steps can be taken by the United States, verified by international inspectors and followed by the demand that Russia match the steps and admit additional inspectors to confirm the fact.

From Disarmament to World Cooperation

Furthermore, the United States must give early proof of its recognition that world peace cannot be built on world disarmament alone. The pressure of the race on the Kremlin will be greater if the United States offers to place the money formerly spent on armaments at the disposal of world agencies whose purpose is to foster economic cooperation and cultural exchange. (We note that an economic crisis would surely result if government outlays on armaments were stopped and not replaced almost at once by some other form of spending.)

Complete disarmament will be only the first step toward peace—necessary but not sufficient. Clearly, the major fears and miseries of the world's people will not be resolved by such a simple stroke. Eventually peace must be based on good will. All men must share the trust which grows out of community of enterprise from which it is unthinkable to withdraw. The whole problem of peace will not be solved short of democratic world government.

We Need a Breathing Spell

Disarmament will leave many unresolved issues between Russia and the United States. We will not achieve democratic world government until heavy changes occur on both sides of the iron curtain. We desperately need a breathing spell during which to work for these changes.

Substantially complete disarmament, verified by free inspection of the world, will give us a breathing spell. There must be no large-scale plants manufacturing atomic fuel usable in bombs—that is, international control must be on a zero-quota basis—until world government is firmly established. There must be no mass infantry training programs, no long-range air fleets (beyond ordinary commercial needs), no big navies. There must be no projects developing intercontinental rockets, guided missiles, space platforms, bacterial bombs, atomic superbombs. With disarmament at this level, the problem of what to do with violators of disarmament becomes relatively unimportant. Undetected violations on a dangerous scale are nearly out of the question. National governments are almost certain to disclaim detected violators, who have failed in their task, and to turn them over to an international court for trial and punishment.

To Give Social Advance a Chance

Most important, disarmament will help produce the changes which we must seek. Whatever program of social advance the reader supports—constructive planning, democratic socialism, progressive capitalism—it cannot even be initiated while a large fraction of the effort of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia is going into arms. Each week the United States government finds new "urgently needed" military requirements of the western European nations. A humane (therefore new) type of world politics was implied in the Marshall plan as first announced, but the realities, as they are called, are shifting its emphasis and effect steadily toward military preparation. So long as our government finds itself obliged only to make *counter*-moves, these moves are of a type that makes European recovery less likely. And the preoccupation of western European statesmen with national strength is so great that nothing can come of their words about social democracy.

Not only will disarmament have profound effects on the political and social economy of western Europe, but it can also help establish conditions making possible a change inside Russia. Two weeks ago we wrote that no change in Soviet policy can be regarded as permanent or real which does not lead to a verifiable relaxation of the Soviet grip on the minds and bodies of the Russian people. Disarmament will release Russian manpower and machines for consumer production; it will help relieve the recurrent crises which now occur in Russia's war-oriented economy. The necessity for foreign loot with which to prime this economy will become less sharp. The presence of international inspectors will inevitably result in some relaxation of Soviet power. The way may be cleared for the Russian people, in the foreseeable future, to take command of their own destiny and to join other peoples of the world in a democratic world government.

Proposals of an Atomic Scientist

Leo Szilard (*Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, April-May 1947) has proposed a series of constructive steps toward the world community without which world government will fail. He recognizes that the United States is the only country capable of the heavy investment required to carry out effective, timely measures toward the development of world community. Szilard proposes that the United States place 10 per cent of its national income at the disposal of world agencies whose purpose is the worldwide redistribution of goods and services. One agency would send farm products to industrial countries. Another would establish consumer-goods industries in agricultural countries. A third would redistribute scarce

materials and reduce the effects of booms and slumps by stockpiling raw materials and sustaining exports. Every country capable of doing so would contribute 10 per cent of its income to the world agencies. Szilard proposes that these economic measures be accompanied by measures aimed at reducing the loyalty of peoples everywhere to national establishments, and increasing their loyalty to the world community. He suggests specific measures of this kind, such as the large-scale exchange of students, with the option of permanent transfer of citizenship by a specified fraction of them, and the internationalization of one page of every newspaper in the world.

The reader will appreciate that Szilard's proposal is vastly more far-reaching than the Marshall plan. Szilard envisages a permanent program whereby those industrialized countries able to produce a surplus direct some of it toward raising standards of living in backward regions. Szilard's plan is in line with Point Four of Truman's inaugural address, which announced a program for developing backward areas. Truman's Point Four has not yet been clarified. Let us hope that it typically comprises fertilizer factories in Haiti, not oil wells in Arabia.

No American Cultural Imperialism!

Szilard's program, and let us hope Truman's as well, does not imply the direct transplanting of American culture throughout the world. Americans are too prone to judge world progress in terms of America's progress and America's values. This attitude is as distasteful to many non-Americans as were Hitler's notions regarding the German superman. There are many points of stable equilibrium among the infinite variety of possible combinations of values—each a valid compromise among man's conflicting, often incompatible desires. In a world in which the role of power is far less important than it is today there will be room, we may hope, for the peaceful development of many cultures.

Szilard does not give a prominent place to China and India in his proposal. What is immediately important is to achieve unity among those peoples who are now competing for the same things. On the other hand, we cannot indefinitely leave Asia's millions out of account. The four billion acres of land now available for cultivation is 20 per cent short of the area needed to supply the minimum diet for the present population of the world, when land is tilled by present methods. The world's population is increasing at the rate of nearly 1 per cent a year. Birth control will not be practiced in China and India until the desire for life is replaced by the desire for good life, which will not come until these countries see a little of it.

We in the United States must stop regarding the rest of the world merely as a source of exotic and strategic materials, and a place to sightsee. We must be concerned over the economic plight of the Ukrainian peasant, the Ecuadorian peon and the Transvaal gold miner, as well as over that of the American sharecropper and slum-dweller. The American standard of living, by and large, is already dangerously far ahead of the rest of the world's. Without abating our efforts to improve the lot of those Americans who are far below the national average, we can afford to decrease the rate at which we plow back industrial profit into the creation of new capital goods, increased production and a higher standard of living. The 10 per cent of our income which Szilard asks us to spend on world problems represents roughly the margin which in the past has permitted a twofold expansion in national income in each generation. We dare not refuse to share with the rest of the world the surplus which we have shown ourselves able to produce.

Industrialization without Conflict

World agencies could use part of this surplus, along with like contributions from other countries which are able to give, to industrialize each important world center in turn. There is the chance that each industrialization program, because it is helped from the outside, could be carried out without the enormous social upheaval, exploitation, and destruction of values that have marked industrial revolutions in the past, from the British through the Soviet. These bad effects are largely caused by the industrializers' plowing back the biggest possible fraction of product into new tools, rather than into articles for use. Perhaps ways of giving industrial work more dignity can be devised, avoiding the megalopolitan units which are so wasteful of human life.

American scientists and engineers can play a role in this effort far out of proportion to their numbers and to the expense of sustaining their activities. The greatest concentration of technical talent in the world is to be found in the United States. But the great majority of American workers in applied science at best are elaborating minor improvements in our way of life—luxuries, doodads, minute-savers—and at worst are developing new and better ways of killing people. Under Szilard's proposal, a world agency could put these men to the study of world problems—notably the production of food and fuel, the conservation of resources and the development of industrial methods conducive to decentralization.

Is Peace Feasible?

All except the most patient reader must long since have grown irritated with us for not discussing a critical snag. Our proposals must be carried out by American statesmen. Clearly our proposals, to use their language, are not "feasible" ones. "They could never be sold to the people." "They would never pass the Senate."

We have not been unmindful of this difficulty, but a discussion of ways of getting our proposals adopted seemed inappropriate before completing the task—surely much easier—of deciding whether they have merit on their own premises. To prejudge what the American people will and will not accept, and to do all one's political thinking within the limits of this prejudgment, is the crudest kind of political "realism." Let our readers first tell us what is wrong with our proposals, not what is wrong with the American people. If a few thousand of us see some hope in the proposals, we can turn our attention to the next larger group of Americans.

Some will call us utopians for supposing that there is a chance of America's making a unilateral first step toward disarmament. However small the chance, it is larger than the chance of success if we follow the policies of the purblind advocates of preparedness. Their reality is the reality of 1815. They are the utopians, both in

Russia and in America. By their path destruction is certain. The American people are now buying suicide. If that can be sold, surely there is a chance for a proposal that is only dangerous, not certainly fatal.

The American people are capable, if any people are, of rejecting the case for preparedness. America is now entering its first arms race. Advocates of preparedness are correct in saying that the United States has been unprepared for each war it has entered. But it is now too late to prepare for any war. Skeptical, mistrustful of political power, opposed to militarization, accustomed to innovation and change, Americans should be able to see into the mechanics of the arms race and to see how to stop it.

Expecting the New

The rejection of European ways of life has permitted in America the vast proliferation of the mechanical aspects of our culture. The American theory, and to a real degree the American practice, of freedom and equality made every pioneer an inventor and led to a vigorous science at the applied level. The rejection of ancient ways in politics has been less complete, although still remarkable. We glory in the fact that our diplomacy has seldom been successful, in the old sense (Will Rogers' "America wins all its wars and loses all its conferences"). America is less imperialistic, in the old sense, than any other country (e.g., her treatment of the Philippines). In national affairs, as in the individual family, there is the expectation that each generation will work out its destiny with new methods—the expectation and hope that the son will outstrip the father.

The rejection of what is overseas, what is past, confers both weakness and strength: on the one hand, the moral cynicism of many Americans, the absence of a national ethical system, the individual's single eye to the main chance; and on the other, a willingness to experiment, the feeling that a solution exists for any given problem.

The European Recovery Program is an example of the type of unprecedented political action of which America is capable. Whatever one's analysis of ERP—whether one regards it as a cynical purchase of European allies, or a humanitarian effort to help Europe back on its feet, or some mixture of the two—one looks in vain for a similar act on the part of any previous government. The need for allies is certainly not without precedent, yet no country has ever poured the fraction of its income which ERP represents for America into building up the economy of potential allies.

America's proposal for the international control of atomic energy, in spite of serious defects, represents an unprecedented offer to give up national power.

If any people can take thought, reject the old pattern of power politics, strike out on new paths, the American people can do it. Many Americans may see our proposal as the main chance. Even "preventive"-war advocates may like it as a way of bringing about an early showdown; and the more they back it, for their own purpose of precipitating early war if it fails, the more probable that it will not fail—that the Kremlin will accept disarmament and inspection.

Ours is a proposal for aggressive disarmament. Our proposal is a compromise between the pacifists, who are so right, and the militarists, who are so wrong. The trouble with pacifists is that they are satisfied with merely being right. The adoption of a philosophy of non-violence by the American people would beyond doubt constitute a tremendous step toward peace. But the scope of the job of getting this country to disarm completely seems to escape pacifists. Physically, America could not make herself weaker than Russia without dismantling two-thirds of her industrial plant. Psychologically, Americans could not disarm in time. There are not the moral leaders who could teach us. The Christian churches, with only tiny and often cranky exceptions, have supported or at least not opposed every war this country has fought. The American pattern of behavior is an aggressive one. This can and will be changed, but not in a single generation.

Now if ever is the time to seek popular support for a step toward disarmament—not three years ago, while belief persisted in the possibility that negotiations could lead to lasting peace; not six years from now, as the probability that the U.S.S.R. has a stockpile of atomic bombs grows near to certainty.

The Responsibilities of Freedom

The most important feature of the world situation is the American people's freedom. Freedom demands responsibility. The size of our society makes it difficult to understand who is responsible for what happens. It is easy to shift responsibility to someone else, easy to evade ethical questions altogether. Not many men enjoy beating other men with sticks; at least, not many indulge habitually in this kind of entertainment. But it is alarmingly easy to condone the development of atomic superbombs "for defense" and to endorse their use against unseen people thousands of miles away—against people who are really innocent, really not responsible, because they live under a tyranny which will thwart the slightest attempt to do anything about the world situation.

We Americans are free to study, think, discuss, decide, act. We have the power. We can step out of the vicious circle. We can command the future. We can win peace.

I Sought the Living God

I SOUGHT the living God in ancient lore,
O'er time-worn creeds I pored expectantly;
But through the years there came no surety,
The far-off goal was distant as before.
At shrines, in temples then I sped my quest;
I followed aimless paths where'er they led;
But still there was no pillow for my head,
No shelter from the storm, no place of rest.

At length, quite spent, I heard a jeering mob
In frenzy shouting, "Hang him! String him up!"
I thought of Calvary, its bitter cup;
I saw the victim praying, heard him sob.
Then, God, that moment stood I by thy side:
I saw thee suffer in the Crucified.

JOHN CALVIN SLEMP.

First of Three Articles

What Did the Supreme Court Say?

An Analysis and Interpretation of the Decision in the McCullom Case Concerning Released Time

By Charles Clayton Morrison

FOR MANY YEARS I have been an advocate of the inclusion of the study of religion in the regular curriculum of at least the upper grades of the public schools and in state universities. Before conventions of teachers' associations, sometimes numbering five and ten thousand persons, in colleges and universities, before church bodies and in editorial writing, I have expounded the thesis that the taboo on religion in public education is a denial of the theory on which our educational system rests, and therefore a stultification of the teacher's vocation, and that it is without a scintilla of justification under the Constitution of the United States.

I have contended that the consequence of this ban on the study of religion has been to create in the mentality of one generation after another a vacuum of religious illiteracy which makes a vital and intelligent contact between the churches and the youth product of the public schools unnecessarily difficult and, over large stretches of our population, impossible. I have further contended that the attempt of the school system to ban religion is illusory and abortive, for the vacuum has been occupied by secularism which breeds a religion of its own, whose gods are idols in the form of nationalism, democracy, science, humanism. And I have also insisted that religious education is so important that the churches should demand of our school authorities an adjustment of the public school schedule so that the churches could have a week-time period in which to carry on their own unique program of systematic religious education apart from the public school and on their own responsibility.

Decision Confined to Concrete Issue

This personal backward glance seems desirable before I undertake to interpret the decision of the Supreme Court in the now famous Champaign case. Naturally, at my first reading of the Supreme Court's ruling, my keenest interest as a long-time crusader for the study of religion in public schools was to discover whether the court had ruled against the convictions I had long held. I found no reason to modify these convictions. The court, plainly, did not have before it the question of the constitutionality of the study of religion in the public schools under the tutelage of the schools' own teachers. It confined itself with fair consistency to the issue raised by the concrete situation in Champaign, Illinois. That issue, stated succinctly, was whether the Constitution allows the *churches* to teach religion in the public schools. The court decided that such a practice was unconstitutional because it violated the principle of separation of church and state. With this decision I find myself in full accord, and I welcome it as the most important pronouncement on church-state separation since the adoption of the First Amendment.

My personal interest in the subject has led me to make a detailed analysis of the documents in the Champaign case. The decision of the court was rendered on March 8, 1948. There has been much confusion in the interpretation of the court's judgment. So far as I know, no systematic and thorough attempt to show just what the court said has been made public. It is time this were done. I desire in these articles to present an analysis and interpretation of the documents involved in this monumental deliverance on the question of separation of church and state.

Four documents are before us: (1) the ruling opinion in which eight justices concurred; (2) the supplemental concurring opinion written by Justice Frankfurter and concurred in by Justices Burton, Rutledge and Jackson; (3) a separate concurring opinion by Justice Jackson; (4) a dissenting opinion by Justice Reed. It is important to note that (2) and (3) are *concurring* opinions; they approve unreservedly the ruling opinion in which they joined.

No Vagueness in Ruling

The impression has been made by Roman Catholic writers and by some Protestants, including some leaders of religious education, that the members of the court were at variance with one another on the essential issue involved. On this misreading of the documents it is claimed that the issue requires further clarification by the court itself, and the churches have been advised to continue the practice of released time as before, with only slight modifications, such as the abandonment of the use of school buildings for their religious classes. In some states, the churches have actually employed legal counsel to guide them in retaining the released time practice with the barest minimum of modification, if any.

That there is some vagueness or ambiguity in Justice Frankfurter's opinion with respect to an issue that was not before the court, namely, whether the Constitution forbids instruction in religion by *the school itself*, we shall see when we come to document (2). And that Justice Jackson sharply criticizes the court on two points, neither of which, however, involves the issue before the court, is obvious, as we shall see when we come to document (3). But there is no vagueness or variance among the eight justices who concurred in the ruling opinion on the essential issue, namely, whether the Constitution allows the *churches* to enter the public school *system* to teach religion. On this the court was clear, and from the ruling opinion there was no hint of dissent save that of Justice Reed.

In the present writing we shall consider the ruling opinion itself as expressed in document (1), supported by an 8-to-1 majority of the court. Its text is brief. Its meaning is unmistakable. It opens with a general statement of the nature of the case before the court. "This case," it says,

"refers to the power of a state to utilize its tax-supported public school system in aid of religious instruction *insofar as that power may be restricted* by the First and Fourteenth amendments to the Constitution." A clearer generalization of the issue could not be made. It leaves open the question whether religion can be studied *at all* in the public schools; that is, it is still possible that there may be a way of teaching religion in the public schools that does not fall under the restriction of the Constitution. The court defines its task, sharply, as the determination of the precise restriction, if any, that the Constitution lays upon religious instruction within the public school system.

After reviewing the legal process in the Illinois court, the Supreme Court then sets forth in full detail the practice of released time in Champaign to discover whether there was some element or principle involved in the practice which the Constitution forbids. (I shall assume that the reader is sufficiently familiar with the details of the released time practice to make unnecessary their repetition here.) The facts recited by the court were then gathered up in the following generalized statement:

> The foregoing facts, without reference to others that appear in the record, show the use of tax-supported property for religious instruction and the close cooperation between the school authorities and the religious council in promoting religious education. The operation of the state's compulsory education system thus assists and is *integrated with the program of religious instruction carried on by separate religious sects.* Pupils compelled by law to go to school for secular education are released in part from their legal duty upon the condition that they attend the religious classes. This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to *aid religious groups to spread their faith.* And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment . . . as we interpreted it in Everson *v.* Board of Education. [Italics throughout these articles are mine, unless otherwise indicated.]

The Everson case, a year earlier, referred to by the court, involved the use of public funds to provide bus transportation of pupils to parochial schools. The court decided by a 5-to-4 division that this practice was not an aid to the parochial school, but to the pupils, and therefore did not fall within the constitutional prohibition of union of church and state, but in the category of "general welfare." I do not accept this view, and the four dissenting justices in that case did not accept it, but sharply criticized the ruling opinion as making a breach in the wall of church-state separation. They predicted that it would open the way for many attempts to make further breaches. This prediction has already come true.

Time Released to Churches

In the Champaign released time case the issue was more clean-cut. It could not be evaded by resort to the "public welfare" clause of the Constitution. It involved the activity of the *churches* within the public school system in giving religious instruction to public school pupils *on school time* which the school authorities "released" to the churches for this purpose. In this practice, the *pupils* are not "released" from school; it is the "school time" that is "released," and it is released to the churches. This is the meaning of "released time," not only at Champaign but wherever this practice is in operation. It must not be confused with any other form of weekday religious education.

However, in the Everson case the court, having allowed bus transportation as not violative of the Constitution, specified certain other practices that would surely fall under the ban of the First Amendment. These practices were stated in succint and categorical form, and were quoted by the court in the Champaign case as the basis of its ruling on released time. The quotation follows:

> There we said: "Neither a state nor the federal government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. . . . No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the federal government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups, and *vice versa.* In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect a 'wall of separation between church and state.'"

Counsel for the released time practice made the plea that these views expressed by the court in the earlier case were only "dicta" and the court was urged to reconsider and repudiate them. The argument of counsel at this point was that the First Amendment "was intended to forbid only government preference for one religion over another, not impartial assistance of all religions." Counsel further asked that the court overrule its holding in the Everson case that the Fourteenth Amendment made the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment applicable to the states. After giving "full consideration to the arguments presented," said the court, "we are unable to accept either of these contentions."

Opinion on 'Separation' Unanimous

Parenthetically, it is of interest to note that Justice Reed stood with the Everson case majority in approving the above paragraph. In the light of this fact it is difficult to understand his dissent in the Champaign case except on the assumption that he failed completely to grasp the essential point involved in the later case. When we come to examine his lone dissenting opinion we shall find ample grounds for this assumption.

The court strongly denies that its position "manifests a governmental hostility to religion or religious teachings." A manifestation of such hostility "would be at war with our national tradition as embodied in the First Amendment's guaranty of the free exercise of religion." In forbidding a state "to utilize its public school system to aid any or all religious faiths or sects in the dissemination of their doctrines and ideals," the First Amendment, says the court,

> rests upon the premise that both religion and government can best work to achieve their lofty aims if each is left free from the other within its respective sphere. Or, as we said in the Everson case, the First Amendment has erected a wall of separation between church and state which must be kept high and impregnable.

The court then concludes with a brief summary of the details of the Champaign released time practice and says:

> Here not only are the tax-supported school buildings used for the dissemination of religious doctrines. The state also affords sectarian groups an invaluable aid in that *it helps to provide pupils for their religious classes through use of the state's compulsory public school machinery.* This is not separation of church and state. The case is reversed and remanded to the state supreme court for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion.

The pattern of thought in the minds of the eight justices subscribing to this ruling is clear. They find in released time a practice the details of which, regarded both separately and together, disclose an actual union of the civil law with the functioning of the churches. In one sentence, the term "close cooperation" is used. There are, of course, innumerable ways in which church and state can cooperate short of union. Indeed, it should be added that only strict separation affords a basis for true and fruitful cooperation between church and state. But the kind of "cooperation" condemned by the court in the practice of released time is described specifically as nothing less than an actual interlocking of functions, that is to say, a union of church and state.

The inclusive and controlling concept which contains all the pertinent details of the released time practice is that the pupils were "in school," that is, in the public school system, under its authority and subject to its discipline, while the teachers appointed by the churches instructed them in religion. In Champaign, the classes were held in school buildings. The court makes only incidental use of this fact. It is not the public school building that is decisive, but the *public school system*. The school building, of course, is a part of the public school system. The churches in the person of their appointed teachers were allowed to enter the public school jurisdiction and utilize the facilities, the authority, and the tax money that maintains the system to give religious instruction. This, said the court, is forbidden by the Constitution.

This is the ruling opinion of the court. It must not be confused by reading the concurring opinions, which are only the opinions of the justices who signed them. They are very able opinions and throw much light on the issue. But where they go beyond this decision and seem to discuss matters that lie outside the issue on which the court (with the full concurrence of these justices) has here pronounced judgment, these opinions are only their own and not a part of the court's decision.

In the next article we shall take up the two supplemental concurring opinions.

BOOKS

Catholic Plan for U. S.

AMERICAN FREEDOM AND CATHOLIC POWER. *By Paul Blanshard. Beacon Press, $3.50.*

IT IS scarcely necessary to introduce Mr. Blanshard to readers of The Christian Century. The four articles by him, in the issues of April 13, 20, 25 and May 4, were extracts from this book, selected by him and published by permission of the Beacon Press. A larger part of the book, but still less than half, was published serially in the *Nation*. These samples fairly represent the purpose, the method and the tone of the volume.

The purpose is to exhibit the principles and workings of the Roman Catholic Church considered as a very large group, under a highly organized system of centralized authority, committed to a social and political philosophy and a code of conduct that are in sharp contrast with those of non-Catholics, actively working by political pressure and by extra-legal (not illegal) processes toward making the Catholic socio-political system and Catholic culture dominant in the United States, and making very considerable progress toward that end.

The author states that it is not his intention to "discuss the Catholic religion." He fulfills this intention in the sense that he does not discuss such Roman Catholic dogmas as transubstantiation and the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, or the competence of the pope to define doctrines authoritatively for Catholics, or the spiritual values of the sacraments. But he does discuss many Catholic practices and beliefs which have religious significance for the members of that church, such as those having to do with the power of the priesthood, the moral code (marriage, divorce, birth control, gambling, etc.), Catholic schools and their support by taxation, censorship of publications that are obnoxious to Catholics and, in general, the whole ecclesiastical structure which provides a highly centralized clerical control.

At all these points, the "Catholic religion" impinges upon non-Catholic society. This is, says Mr. Blanshard, "a book not about the Catholic faith, but about the cultural, political and economic policies of the rulers of the church." The distinction is well meant and wisely made, but it cannot be applied rigidly. The Roman Catholic doctrine of the church, culminating in papal infallibility, is inseparable from politics and secular society. Such a church as Roman Catholic doctrine defines *must* be ruled by its priesthood, *must* lay down social laws which it *must* seek to have enforced by the state, *must* be intolerant of any religious system but its own, and *must* demand that the state support its claims wherever there is a possibility that this demand will be met—and meanwhile *must* work toward gaining such predominance that the demand will be met. These things are not incidental characteristics which can be laid aside, as many naive Protestants think they have been or will be in the free atmosphere of a democracy. They *are* Roman Catholicism—not its accidents but its essence. Of course they are not all of it. They are not the essence, or any part, of its system of public worship, private devotion or personal morality. They *are* the essence of it as a system of government and of thought-control, and of its social and political philosophy. These two aspects of Roman Catholicism are so interwoven in the minds of Catholics—and also in the confused minds of those Protestants who deplore any criticism, or even any clear statement, of the Catholic plan for the control of America—that all sorts of pressures and projects for the enhancement of Catholic power get by under the plea that one must not be intolerant of the Catholic, or any, religion.

Readers of Mr. Blanshard's book should keep this fundamental fact in mind. It will help them to be patient if they think his language is sometimes too acrimonious. As a matter of fact, I think it sometimes is. This is unfortunate. It is also unnecessary, for the facts that he states, and supports with the most precise documentation from Catholic sources, are far more impressive than a few disparaging adjectives can be.

This indissoluble connection between the "Catholic faith" and the impact of the Roman Catholic Church upon the social and political order should also be kept in mind by those tolerant souls who are so averse to criticizing anyone's "religion" that they complacently close their eyes to even the most glaring facts as to those policies and practices which profoundly affect the rights of the entire body of citizens. The principles of religious liberty and of "separation of church and state" are so deeply ingrained in the non-Catholic American mind that it is often inhibited from uttering a word of protest against a church's campaign to limit religious liberty and wipe out the separation of church and state.

This is a curious paradox. The Roman Catholic "plan for America" is summarized by Mr. Blanshard in direct quotations from authoritative Catholic sources and discussed by him in one of his most important chapters. This plan goes forward under the protective screen, not so much of Protestant "tolerance"—which is an excellent thing that ought never to be compromised—as of a popular attitude of timidity and com-

placency which is itself feebly rationalized as "tolerance of religion."

The fact is, course, that "tolerance" is a weak and inappropriate word. Catholics do not want to be "tolerated." They have *rights* in this country. But so have the rest of us. We Protestants should recognize their rights—and defend our own. This is what some call "bigotry"; but it isn't. Mr. Blanshard strikes valiant blows in defense of that heritage of liberty which belongs both to American Catholics and to American Protestants. W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

MARSHAL OF THE LAST FRONTIER, LIFE AND SERVICES OF WILLIAM MATTHEW TILGHMAN. *By Zoe A. Tilghman. Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, Calif., $7.50.* The personnel of the old frontier from Missouri to the mountains consisted of four classes: Indians, adventurous and normally honest whites (prospectors, cattle men, traders, homesteaders, railroad workers), "bad men," and officers of the law. These arrived approximately in the order named. Bill Tilghman belonged to the last category. Kansas was his first field, beginning shortly after the founding of Dodge City in 1872, but Oklahoma was his terrain from 1889 until his death in the line of duty in 1924. The author, his second wife, writes not a panegyric but an authentic biography which is also an authentic history of a considerable section of the winning of the west.

YOU CAN'T WIN, FACTS AND FALLACIES ABOUT GAMBLING. *By Ernest E. Blanche. Public Affairs Press, $2.00.* Mr. Blanche is a professional mathematician and statistician who has made the study of both straight and crooked gambling his avocation for many years. In this fascinating book he tells very explicitly how to gamble in a hundred different ways—and why you are a fool if you do. He deals not with the morals but with the mathematics of gambling. The point is that the odds are always against the person who puts money on any commercialized gambling device. This is especially true of things like lotteries, pools, slot machines, "numbers," policy, and—that stand-by of Catholic parish finance—bingo. Investors in any of these have a "chance" to win—but how much chance? Most people would have brains enough to refuse to bet on a heads-or-tails proposition with the provision that they win a nickel if they win but lose a half-dollar if they lose. But they are suckers for a lottery which offers one chance in 10,000 of winning $1,000 on a one-dollar ticket. The chances in bingo are about the same. "Gambling has always been and always will be a crooked business," says Mr. Blanche. "You can't win at gambling. Every mature person should know that. Yet there are some 50 million Americans who don't seem to know it." This book proves it, in figures. There is also a moral side not touched upon here. W. E. G.

CORRESPONDENCE

A Call from the Protestant Episcopal Church

SIR: I have an earnest plea to make. Would it not be possible for you to distinguish between Protestant and Anglican in your editorial reference to this body? I am sure I need not tell you that Anglicans are not Protestant but rather a communion of the "one catholic and apostolic church." As you do not include Constantinople with Protestantism, neither should you include Canterbury.

Fairchild Hall, JOHN C. STEVENS.
Durham, N. H.

Anglo-Catholic Comment

SIR: I have just finished Dr. Kean's article, "The Prayer Book Anniversary," in your May 18 issue. It is my hope that The Christian Century will not let so significant a matter be treated only in so biased, not to say so fallacious, a manner.

Dr. Kean's treatment of the Anglican position permeates the entire article and leads to several completely fallacious conclusions about the Anglican communion. (1) He says: "Their [the writers of the Prayer Book] claims about the episcopate and their parallels to the older Latin service forms arose from presuppositions different from those used by modern Anglo-Catholics." "Anglicans," as he himself says, "thought that they were . . . reforming and restoring that local portion of the holy catholic church . . ." and they maintained the episcopate, the sacraments and the Catholic dogmatic teaching because they believed them to be of the unalterable substance of Christ's religion. They maintained certain ceremonies and practices because they had a venerable tradition behind them and they were not in themselves repugnant to Holy Scripture. This was possible because England in 1549 was thoroughly Catholic and the writers of the Prayer Book were not changing religions.

(2) He continues: "It [the trend toward catholic emphasis] has its counterpart in most organized Christian groups with any continuity, and wherever it is found it reflects something about human nature rather than something essential to Christian theology." That such "counterparts" exist is true; that they reflect something about human nature is also true; but that they do not reflect something essential to Christian theology is not true. The legitimate cult of the Blessed Virgin takes the angelic salutation in the Gospels and the declaration of the virgin birth in the creeds as its theological foundation. Eucharistical adoration takes Christ's own words in the Gospels, "This is my body," and the testimony of St. Paul, and the unanimous teaching of catholic fathers and doctors as its theological basis. We could go on almost *ad infinitum*.

Neither Holy Scripture, nor the creeds, nor the official teaching of catholic fathers are non-essentials for Anglicans. The real question is not whether these practices are prompted by something in human nature but: Is there adequate theological basis to allow these expressions of human nature? For Anglicans the answer is Yes!

When, therefore, Dr. Kean says: "That the institutional aspects of the Reformation did not go as far in England as on the Continent is not particularly significant, except that it has made possible theories, developed after the passage of many centuries, that the Church of England and its descendants have more pronounced affinities with the Catholic than with the Protestant world," both he and the Evangelicals in the Episcopal Church for whom he speaks really are being "unhistorical toward the past and unrealistic toward the present."

Nashotah, Wis. DAVID E. NYBERG.

How Use the Money?

SIR: According to press reports, the new aircraft carrier, the building of which has been ordered discontinued, would have cost anywhere from $65 million to $200 million. Why not take some or all of the money thus saved and devote it to scholarships in our colleges for students from western Europe, the Near East, Asia and South America? Could the funds be put to any better use?

Claremont, Calif. A. E. BRUCE.

[The navy says it needs the money for warships of other types.—THE EDITORS.]

Hungarian Capitulation?

SIR: Paul S. Empie in your May 11 issue speaks of the Reformed Church of Hungary capitulating to the Communist government "with scarcely a murmur." If he knew Hungarian history, he would know that the Reformed Church of Hungary in its long and glorious history under persecution has never capitulated—not to the Turk, not to the Hapsburg, not to the Lutheran Horthy, not to the German, and certainly not to the present government. No church has a more honorable record than this great church.

After careful and prayerful consideration, this church chose its course of action. As Karl Barth said in a recent issue of The Christian Century, "The positive way taken by the Hungarian Reformed people is

preferable to the glory they might win as standard-bearer for the so-called 'Christian West.'" As a result a marvelous new life is sweeping through the church, and the church is faced with the problem not of freedom, not of church-state relations, but of integrating this new life with its thousands of reawakened people into the life of the church.

I was in Hungary last summer and visited city and village churches as well as youth and women's camps. In their desperation the Hungarian people have turned to God and God is answering their need by pouring out his Holy Spirit upon them in a glorious way. Yes, the Reformed Church of Hungary has capitulated, but the capitulation has been to its living and ascended Lord. Would to God the churches of the West would capitulate in the same way!

HARVEY G. FORSTER,
Niagara Presbytery, Superintendent.
United Church of Canada.

Farmers Also Opposed

SIR: Enclosed please find $1 as deposit for five copies of "A Road to Atomic Peace," if and when you reprint the Daniel and Squires series of articles. Congratulations on the fine job you have been doing in The Christian Century on world affairs. I have read The Christian Century practically from cover to cover since 1924.

Frequently in my daily broadcasts I quote The Christian Century. I have been particularly grateful for your handling of the Atlantic pact and have quoted from your editorials.

Under date of May 25 I think you should have listed the National Farmers Union as an organization that has consistently opposed the Atlantic treaty and has made its voice heard on Capitol Hill repeatedly on this issue.

CHESTER A. GRAHAM.
Farmers Union,
Jamestown, N. D.

Report Rejected

SIR: In the article concerning the North Atlantic Treaty and the view of 14 Methodist bishops in their opposition to the statement of the commission on world peace of the Methodist Church, reference was made to the combined report of the world peace and social service commission of the Philadelphia conference recently presented in Allentown, Pa. Evidently a copy of the report, which condemned the military factors of the treaty, was sent to you prior to its presentation to the conference. Your readers should be informed that the section of the report relative to condemning the treaty was overwhelmingly rejected, and a substitute commending the treaty was overwhelmingly accepted.

Thus the Philadelphia conference unknowingly and overwhelmingly rejected a position taken by a general church board which was reflected by its own commission; adopted a substitute not knowing at the time it represented the same position taken by 14 Methodist bishops. This is a good indication as to whether the general commission or the bishops accurately represented public feeling and indignation.

A. WALLACE COPPER.
Upper Darby, Pa.

The Oursler Article

SIR: Fulton Oursler's article, "Return to Reality," is so thoroughly unconvincing that it may well be construed as a pernicious piece of Protestant propaganda! He says nothing in over two pages of writing that is not heartily subscribed to by fundamentalist Baptist Protestants. (And no little of it is endorsed by many of us of liberal persuasion!) The only point to which any Protestant would take exception is his declaration of fealty to the Roman Catholic Church. If he was seeking an infallible authority in which to take refuge and find security, he could more logically have returned to the fundamentalist Protestant faith in an infallible Bible and an infallible Christ than going over to the Catholic faith in an infallible pope and an infallible church.

His condemnation of the very magazine whose fair-mindedness publishes his alienating article demonstrates bad taste and poor judgment. How many Catholic journals would publish such an article by a Catholic converted to Protestantism?

CORNELIUS W. VANDENBERGH.
First Baptist Church,
Cortland, N. Y.

SIR: If conversion to Catholicism has given Mr. Oursler a new religious zeal, one which manifests itself in love and in loving deeds, more power to him and to the church which he has come to adore. It only seems unfortunate that he feels he must tie to this new fervor all the antiquated theological dogmas which were disproved by competent minds 100 years ago.

For argument's sake he points out that the best educated nation gave us Hitler. Let us point out that the institution to which Mr. Oursler now belongs gave us some rather poor specimens of Christians who were elevated to its highest position. He seems to be trying to prove that education always produces Hitlers. The church does not always produce renegades, though at times it may produce some. So with educational institutions.

Dexter, Me. THEODORE A. WEBB.

SIR: Fulton Oursler's article (May 18) was a disappointment—not in what it said but in what it failed to say. It was good to read a diagnosis of our times in the straightforward, simple language of a man whose expression is not cluttered by theological double talk. But as subscribers to a distinctly Protestant magazine, I should think that most of your readers would like to know why Mr. Oursler was able to find his "peace of soul" only by becoming a Roman Catholic.

Doesn't he think "truth" can be found in the Protestant churches? And if not, why not? Surely he does not feel that God the Father, Son and Holy Ghost can be worshiped only in the Roman Catholic Church! Does he think that the huge bulk of Protestants have discarded the great creeds and beliefs of the church? Is he familiar with the historic statements of faith, such as the Westminster Confession, on which most Protestant denominations are established? DAVID B. WATERMULDER.
Presbyterian Church,
Hightstown, N. J.

SIR: I am sure that Mr. Oursler, as he says, is deeply hurt when his beloved church is criticized in what he considers unjust ways.

I am likewise sure that a sincere Communist is hurt when he reads the innumerable untrue tirades against an ideology that means to him, very likely, more than life itself.

And I, who am neither a Roman Catholic nor a Communist, often feel much the same way when the Roman Catholic Church through its various means of propaganda tells the world that my church and some of my most cherished beliefs and practices constitute a most inferior brand of religion.

Perhaps Mr. Oursler, the hypothetical Communist and I should be a little less sensitive, remembering that truth is such a large thing that maybe we are all both partly right and partly wrong.

KENNETH A. HOLMES.
Windom Community Church,
Buffalo, N. Y.

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NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

Urges Anglicans To Seek Unity

Province of Canada Hears an Appeal for Wider Prayers and Interest by Archbishop Carrington

MONTREAL, May 23.—Stating that a "low-tension Christianity" is not strong enough to convert the world, Philip Carrington, archbishop of Quebec, urged the 28th synod of the Anglican ecclesiastical province of Canada in its sessions last week to fight with the gospel and with prayer to defeat "unbounded ambition, love of earthly power, love of money, hardness of heart, hatred and prejudice," which he said are not peculiar to any one nation. Affirming his belief in the value of prayer, the archbishop asked his brethren to pray not only for the king and their own family of nations, but for the Christians of all churches and for the United Nations. He went on to suggest that the prayer before the collects in the communion service should be a prayer for all nations, and that the prayers after the collects in morning and evening services should begin with intercession for all nations rather than for our own nation and empire.

Calls Amsterdam 1948's Greatest Event

"Christianity is an international venture or it is nothing," Archbishop Carrington said in his charge to the provincial synod. "At Lambeth we were conscious of our kinship with other families of churches, in particular with the Scandinavian and Greek Orthodox groups." He called the foundation of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam last summer the greatest historical event of 1948. On the subject of church union Dr. Carrington stated: "It would seem that under the providence of God we are being led into a new unity, the nature of which is not yet fully apparent. But we can see this: it will be a unity in which the richness and variety will be retained; worldwide Christianity will not be Anglican any more than it will be Roman or Greek, or Presbyterian or Methodist. It is our prayer that for ourselves we disclaim any such imperialistic ambitions. Our prayer must surely be for a bond of peace and love in which all varieties of Christendom may dwell together in unity."

Report Greater Interest in Religious Education

The synod was told that there is greater interest in religious education both in schools and in universities than for many years past. Canon R. K. Naylor of Montreal claimed that education is "infinitely worse" in this respect in the United States than it is in Canada, but that it is better in England. The five dioceses which constitute the synod were asked to consider whether there is need to provide laws for civil marriage in all provinces. The synod was told that in Quebec clergymen are virtually compelled to marry people who are not Christian. Ernest S. Reed, archdeacon of the Gaspé, charged that Anglican clergymen are in the position of being hypocritical when they refer divorced persons to other churches to be remarried.

Montreal Anglicans Lift Minimum Stipend

At the 90th synodical meeting of the Anglican diocese of Montreal at the end of April it was reported that minimum clergy salaries have gradually been increased from $1,500 to $2,136 annually, and that the number of Anglicans is being maintained in every deanery in the rural parts of the diocese. R. Charles Brown, dean of Huron, told the synod that the church must teach the nation how to acquire the positive and not the negative answer to the dangerous isms which threaten our national and world life, and that it must also teach how to remove the discontent in which the isms germinate and grow.

Divorce Seekers Delayed by Ending of Parliament

The sudden termination of Canada's 20th Parliament last month left more than 300 persons, mostly Montrealers, in various stages of unblissful wedlock. Proceedings were postponed in 155 divorce bills which were before the senate divorce committee. Now the petitioners for divorce will have to renew their applications when the new Parliament sits, probably next fall. The senate received 341 applications for divorce this session. It recommended 184 to the House of Commons, 2 were withdrawn and 155 remain to be considered. All applications for divorce come from Quebec, which has no provincial divorce law. About 95 per cent of them are from the city of Montreal.

And So Forth

Since the end of the war 300,000 new immigrants have entered Canada. This means that about 1 in 48 of the Canadian population is a newcomer.

Errol C. Amaron, principal of Stanstead College, and R. Dewitt Scott, secretary of Montreal presbytery and the Montreal and Ottawa conference of the United Church, have been granted the honorary D.D. degree by the United Theological College here. Three students were graduated in theology by the college this year.

The Montreal Catholic school commission will increase teaching salaries by $1,500,000 next year. The commission employs 2,007 lay teachers, 618 nuns and 1,180 brothers.

C. Ritchie Bell, moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, and John Weir Foote, chaplain who won the Victoria Cross at Dieppe, were honored with D.D. degrees at the Presbyterian College convocation here. Both are graduates of the college.

Gerald F. Cragg, minister of Erskine and American United Church here, has been elected chairman of the Montreal presbytery, succeeding C. Leslie Taylor of Ormstown. DECOURCY H. RAYNER.

Catholic Students Assail Race Discrimination

Racial discrimination in colleges and universities and in campus organizations was deplored in a resolution adopted at the sixth annual meeting of the National Federation of Catholic College Students held recently in Chicago.

Presbyterians to Remodel Church

General Assembly of Northern Group Adopts Plan for Reorganizing Its Synods, Boards and Agencies

By Harold E. Fey

BUFFALO, May 25.—The major achievement of the 161st General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., was to make a start toward overhauling, reshuffling and streamlining its boards and agencies. This denomination now has 8,534 churches. Since the ecclesiastical ties of 2,274,259 members are involved, reorganization is no small task. It is being undertaken at a time when contributions have fallen 23 per cent under the 1948 budget and after the postwar Restoration Fund disappointed expectations. The job is necessary, however, and the fact that the church has made a net gain of 122,000 members in the two years since the New Life Movement was launched shows that it has the requisite spiritual vitality. That the denomination is not exclusively concerned with its own growth is demonstrated by the assembly's vote asking the southern Presbyterian Church to join in calling for the merger of all churches holding the Reformed tradition.

12 Regional Synods

After a two-year study, a reorganizational committee headed by Robert B. Whyte moved to make this the first denomination whose organization will conform to the great natural and social regions of the country. Most of its 61 recommendations for changes in the structure and functioning of the church were approved and others are under study. The plan will require at least two more years to complete. Its central element is the consolidation of 40 synods into 12 regional organizations having an average of 200,000 members each. Inside the bounds of the new synods, the 267 presbyteries are to be regrouped to have a minimum of 3,000 members each. Strong executive leadership in the synods will decentralize many functions.

Stronger General Council

The General Council of the church, which was created when the last organizational shake-up occurred in 1923, is slated to become "a genuine executive committee of the entire church, with functions and powers related to all the church's continuing and possible activities . . . the conscience of the church in action between meetings of the General Assembly." It will have a general secretary who will be given extensive executive powers. He will submit annually to the General Assembly the budgets of all the missionary and benevolent boards, the General Council and the office of the General Assembly. Probably his most important duty will be to coordinate and promote all the benevolent and missionary programs of the church.

Plan National Strategy

The strengthened General Council will also direct the public relations of the

church, develop church publicity in all mediums, supervise official publications, encourage men's and women's organizations and "plan the long-range program and strategy of the church." The plan limits the stated clerk of the church to being executive officer of the General Assembly meetings, giving opinions and interpretations on church law, carrying out editorial duties, supervising the department of church history, preserving records of General Assembly groups and sitting on certain committees. William Barrow Pugh, the present stated clerk, is the fourth man to hold this office since 1870. He was not a member of the reorganizational committee.

Reorganize Finance

During the past two years, Presbyterian benevolent giving has increased 42 per cent. In 1948 gifts by the churches and by women and to the Restoration Fund amounted to over $13,700,000. But for the past four years the church has failed to meet its budgets—last year by 23 per cent. This has disrupted plans, disappointed hopes and created a general feeling of frustration. It has brought into question the reality or the wisdom of the "conversion" experienced by the 1947 Grand Rapids assembly, which after a long struggle adopted "in a thrilling moment" a budget of over $17 million. Here in Buffalo the assembly took a new tack and adopted a "self-allocation plan" which recognizes differences in the capacity of local churches and invites their cooperation on a new basis which eases the pressure but still brings forward the needs the church is trying to serve. The financial factor contributed to dissatisfaction with the church's organization, since many think that structural stiffness delayed the start of the Restoration Fund until the postwar peak had passed.

To Meet Changes

The main factor, however, said the reorganization committee, is the necessity that the church adapt itself to changes in the human and church situation. In the U.S. these are the great shifts of population which have changed the balance between rural and urban life. "Organized labor has become an immense social and political force" and the proportion of youth in college has increased beyond all expectation. Changes in attitude toward religion have given rise to increased interest in churches and growing cooperation among them, produced new religious movements, some of which are outside the church, opened the door to Catholic expansion and given the churches a new world horizon in the ecumenical movement.

Channel Rising Energies

According to the committee, the church situation has changed also. Presbyterians are striving to become better Presbyterians so that they can be better members of the church universal. Churchwomen have organized and become a powerful force. Youth organizations have grown strong and social education and action have become a recognized part of church life. The whole church is now deeply concerned with theological education. Evangelistic effort is carried on along national lines and the foreign missions movement includes Europe as well as other parts of the world. To meet the changed human situation and to channel rising energies within the church, this meeting voted to accept most of the

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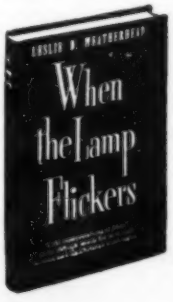

■ **Leslie Dixon Weatherhead,** distinguished minister of City Temple, London, is widely known for his thoughtful, searching books on Christianity. His previous volumes include *In Quest of a Kingdom, The Significance of Silence,* and *A Plain Man Looks at the Cross.*

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proposed revisions and to refer them to the presbyteries for approval.

Defend Westminster

The doctrinal antiquity of the Presbyterian Church was upheld here by a committee headed by Hugh Thomson Kerr against the effort of Fred S. Holmes, a physician and ruling elder from Phoenix. Dr. Holmes objected to the church's pretending that it accepts as a final formulation of its views the 300 pages of the confession and catechisms of Westminster when most churchmen have never read them and never will. He declared that few Presbyterians today are prepared to accept such Westminster dogmas as: "Elect infants, dying in infancy, are regenerated and saved by Christ through the Spirit, who worketh when, where and how he pleaseth. Others not elected . . . cannot be saved." Instead of this, he proposed that the statement of faith drawn up in 1902 and contained in Presbyterian hymnals be substituted. When the matter came to debate, Dr. Holmes spent most of his time describing ways in which he said Stated Clerk William Barrow Pugh had obstructed his attempt to use the democratic process to get the matter discussed. There was little argument on the merits of his case, and the assembly accepted the plea of Dr. Kerr that this is no time to water down the faith received from the Westminster divines.

Oppose Racial Segregation

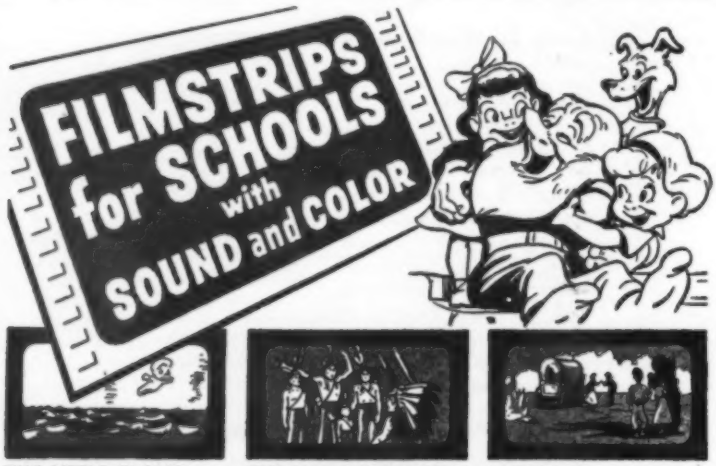
In the final day's discussion, the report of the church's division of social education and action produced debate on the race issue and the remilitarization of Europe. Commending the reorganization plan, the report condemned segregated synods and presbyteries and called on ministers and sessions to "make known to the local congregation the historic position of the Presbyterian Church on this matter of race relations and declare that the sole basis for membership in the Presbyterian Church is faith in our Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ." This was attacked by W. Howard Lee of St. Augustine, Fla., who said that "the churches of the south practice segregation sincerely as our churches in the north practice it apologetically but consistently," and held that the plea for abolition of segregation "would work incomparable harm to the cause of union" with the southern church. He was answered by a number of southern delegates, most of whom favored the committee's report. Diminutive Elder Sarah Brown of Seattle, a Negro, got an ovation from the commissioners when she quietly defended non-segregation and suggested sending missionaries to Florida. The assembly accepted the report by a large majority.

For World Police

The report's condemnation of American remilitarization of Europe did not fare so well. When Allen K. Halva, a St. Paul lawyer, said the report was just what the Communists wanted and offered a substitute calling for a strong United Nations police force as an alternative to national armaments, his substitute passed. The assembly did not endorse or condemn the Atlantic pact. It did reaffirm faith in the United Nations, commended the ERP, and opposed peacetime conscription in any form, all legalized gambling and all federal aid to parochial schools. It welcomed a family of Latvian displaced persons who had recently come to Buffalo through the efforts of a Presbyterian church and asked all churches to aid other D.P.'s. It elected to its moderatorship Clifford E. Barbour, minister of the Second Presbyterian Church of Knoxville, and voted to meet next year in Cincinnati.

'Liberal Christianity' Theme Of International Congress

Delegations from 20 countries will attend the first postwar congress of the International Association for Liberal Christianity and Religious Freedom, to be held in Amsterdam July 19-25 under the theme "The Message and Mission of Liberal Christianity." Founded in 1900 in Boston, the association has met every three years since that time except during the two world wars. John Howland Lathrop, pastor of the Church of the Saviour (Unitarian) in Brooklyn, is president.



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Baptism by Nazis Held Not Binding

Evangelical Church in Germany Decides They Must Be Repeated—Object to 'Religious Totalitarians'

MAGDEBURG, GERMANY, April 23.—The Evangelical church government of Württemberg has decreed that baptismal ceremonies performed in nazi days by a "German Christian" in other than trinitarian form must be repeated in the manner prescribed by the church. If the trinitarian form was used, parents must declare that they are willing to educate their children in the Christian way. In no case may confirmations performed by "German Christians" be considered acceptable, since they were not based on confessional grounds. *Für Arbeit und Besinnung*, pastoral journal published in Württemberg, recently revealed that of the 120 baptisms performed in a small town in the province over a seven-month period, no fewer than 85 per cent took place in the local hospital, 12 per cent in homes and only 3 per cent in the church, as had always been customary in the past. These figures are probably not typical of Germany as a whole, but it is true that throughout the western zones many baptismal ceremonies take place in hospitals. In the eastern zone, baptismal ceremonies are prohibited for political reasons in hospitals supported by the state, as well as in other public institutions. From the point of view of the church, holding baptismal ceremonies outside the church is regrettable.

Should the Churches Be 'Kept in Line'?

Observers who deplored the necessity in nazi days of "keeping in line" and praising the regime if one wanted to be considered a "good German" and welcomed the coming of a democratic order which promised more freedom to the individual are concerned at signs of totalitarianism which they see in the German churches today. They notice that some church people seem interested mainly in having their own conceptions of Christian dogma and ethics accepted by the entire church as the basis for membership. Ministers of this totalitarian bent are probably not in the majority, but they exert a strong influence on church politics. The situation is similar in the congregations. Many people feel that the church would be well advised to reduce the power of the "totalitarians" and strengthen the position of those who favor a certain amount of freedom based on straight Christian and biblical principles that would permit individuals to move more freely within the church.

Dibelius Preparing Book On Church and State

Bishop Otto Dibelius, head of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, is preparing a book on the relation between church and state. It is predicted that he will deal with this complicated matter in a new and perhaps revolutionary manner. The book no doubt will make a deep impression not only on church people but also on others who face the problem of relations

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to the state—editors, lecturers, teachers and sponsors of political and cultural meetings. It is known that Bishop Dibelius is in many ways critical of the state's method of acting. He believes that Christians should no longer hail in an uncritical manner all that the state and its functionaries do, and that the church must oppose any totalitarian type of government which claims dominion over the bodies and souls of its people.

Differ in Interpretation of Goethe on Religion

The celebrations being planned to observe the 200th anniversary of Goethe's birth will vary according to the political and cultural conditions existing in the four occupation zones. Goethe will be honored as poet and artist, as philosopher, scientist and interpreter of religion. Christian critics are divided in their opinion of the master's attitude to religion. Some declare him a skeptic or even a nihilist, basing their judgment on certain passages in *Faust* and on his lyrics. Others profess to see in him a confessional or orthodox Christian, a view for which support may be found in what Goethe wrote about himself. Bishop Lilje of Hannover holds that the poet stood between two extremes—that he was neither a skeptic nor a churchman in terms of confessional dogmatics. But he was a man of deep piety and faith. He was influenced by such Christian thinkers as Lavater, Jung-Stilling and Hamann, and was familiar with the Bible to an astonishing degree. In his conviction and belief, Bishop Lilje maintains, Goethe was "near Christ."

And So Forth

A group of theological students at Kiel University recently went to Copenhagen at the invitation of Danish student groups for a discussion of ecclesiastical and religious problems.

The whereabouts of Prof. Lohmeyer, who taught New Testament at Greifswald University and served as rector of that institution until his arrest several years ago, is unknown to his family, his friends or the university.

During the past winter, 150,000 children in the eastern zone were fed from food and funds contributed by American and Canadian Lutheran churches and by American and New Zealand Presbyterians.

Basing their decision on artistic grounds and the demands of traffic, church officials have announced that the Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, built more than a half-century ago in the modern section of Berlin and destroyed by bombs during the war, will not be reconstructed.

At the University of Frankfurt, the student pastor is not a theologian but a law student. In Berlin, a medical student has been appointed regional youth pastor.

The district of Seelow in Brandenburg suffered more than any other from war destruction. Of its 45 churches, 36 were wrecked, as were 18 of its 27 parsonages. Lack of funds makes it difficult to put up even emergency churches.

August Jäger, who in the days of Hitler was a high state-appointed official in church matters, has been sentenced to death by a Polish tribunal in Posen. He had been very active in persecuting the Polish Catholic Church, locking many church buildings and arresting hundreds of ministers, of whom 220 were put to death in the concentration camps.

SIEGFRIED SCHARFE.

Unions Quarrel In New Zealand

Despite Dependence on Their Support, Government Takes Drastic Step in Carpenters' Dispute

TIMARU, NEW ZEALAND, May 9.—The Labor (Socialist) government of New Zealand has taken the unprecedented step of deregistering the Auckland section of the carpenters' union after it refused to accept an arbitration court decision on wage rates and adopted a "go slow" policy requiring carpenters to do less than a full day's work on their jobs. The government's action came six weeks after the union had adopted the new policy, and after the Master Builders' Association had retaliated by calling upon employers to dismiss their carpenters. During the six weeks of acrimonious argument and futile attempts at agreement all building in Auckland had been at a standstill. Throughout its 14 years in power the Labor government has depended to a considerable extent upon the support of the trade unions. In recent years rumors of Communist influence in certain unions have caused conflict between the government and union leaders, and division between moderates and extremists within the unions. The government's deregistering of the Auckland union means that no arbitration court award rate may apply to carpenters in Auckland, and that they will have to accept whatever wages master builders agree to pay, or remain idle.

Moderates Form New Union

As a result of the government's action, moderates among the carpenters have formed a new union, applied for registration and returned to work. So far the new union has not been registered. Unionists throughout the country have been alarmed by the spectacle of such disunity among workers, and opprobrious names are being hurled at members of the new union. It is an extremely difficult situation for the government, many of whose leaders have been lifelong trade union leaders and stout fighters for close unity among the workers in their disputes with employers. The fact that a parliamentary election is due at the end of the year no doubt adds to their discomfort. They realize that the public will blame the trade unions and the government for the slowness with which our much needed new construction is progressing.

Sees Dispute as One Between Militant Wings

A well informed commentator who contributes a weekly column to the *Presbyterian Outlook* says that from the beginning the trade union dispute has really been waged between a small militant section of the union and an equally small section of the wealthier master builders. "These militant groups more or less have forced the 'smaller men' on both sides to join in the dispute," he declares. If this is so, it would appear to be yet another example of the all too common situation in modern society in which the "small man" is crushed between the upper and nether millstones of rival extremists so that he cries in desperation, "A plague on both your houses!"

Lays Gambling Increase To Monotony

The *Outlook* commentator has a pertinent observation to make in his post mortem on the recent national poll on gambling facilities, which resulted in a 3-to-1 vote in favor of making legal provision for off-course betting on horse races. "It is significant that the heaviest majorities for off-course betting were found in working class areas," he points out. "This confirms the accepted belief that it is the laboring classes who feel the greatest need to escape from the monotony of everyday life in the excitements of drink and gambling. This problem of monotony is one to which we should give attention. At the very least we should try to understand sympathetically that craving for adventure which drives the working man to indulge in gambling."

Marriage Guidance Councils On the Increase

Since the first marriage guidance council in New Zealand was established in Christchurch a little over a year ago, four others have been set up in other centers. The Christchurch council's first annual report records that the single qualified counselor available dealt with 38 cases which involved 157 interviews. The council conducted monthly short courses of lectures for those about to be married. Average attendance at the lectures was 20, and deep appreciation was expressed by all who attended. On request, the council arranged for lectures to the seniors at two girls' high schools and to the members of a number of organizations. Seven selected persons have taken a course of training in marriage counseling and are now ready to offer their services to the council. The mounting divorce rate in New Zealand is causing concern among serious-minded citizens, as in so many countries. The Presbyterian General Assembly has appointed a special committee to prepare a report on marriage and divorce and to make recommendations concerning the remarriage of divorced persons.

And So Forth

The John Williams VI, successor to five famous London Missionary Society ships which have given invaluable service to missionaries in the Pacific islands, has been attracting large crowds during her visit to ports in this country. Known as the "children's ship" because she was bought with money contributed by the children of Great Britain, the John Williams VI has been visited here by swarms of young New Zealanders eager to learn the stirring story of the missionary enterprise.

The National Council of Churches announces that to date the appeal for money to assist ministers and other Christian leaders in Europe has produced £4,690. Additional amounts are expected.

According to a government announcement, 900 selected displaced persons are on their way to New Zealand. Six nationalities are represented in the draft, which includes 100 family groups and 200 widows accompanied by one child each.

Recent visitors to New Zealand have been Muriel Lester of the Fellowship of Reconciliation and J. Hutchison Cockburn of the World Council's reconstruction department.

MALCOLM W. WILSON.

Table Plan for Vatican Parley

Federal Council's Executive Committee Votes to Take no Action on the Cleveland Suggestion

NEW YORK, May 25.—At its bimonthly meeting here last week the 165-member executive committee of the Federal Council of Churches pigeonholed proposals on religious freedom from the National Study Conference on the Churches and World Order held in Cleveland in March. Among these proposals was a suggestion that if possible a conference on religious liberty be arranged between the Vatican and officers of the World Council of Churches. The committee issued an important statement of its views on union membership and jurisdictional disputes (see The Christian Century for June 1, p. 668). It appealed to Congress for the prompt appropriation of $8 million for the U.N. relief of Palestine refugees—the unpaid portion of the $16 million previously authorized—pointing out that funds at present available for the relief of hundreds of thousands of homeless and penniless refugees in that area will be exhausted within a few weeks. It asked the state department to submit, and the Senate to ratify, the convention adopted by the U.N. General Assembly on the prevention and punishment of genocide.

C.W.S. and CARE Join in Soap Campaign

Church World Service, joint overseas relief agency of the U. S. Protestant and Orthodox churches, is cooperating with CARE in a unique nationwide soap advertising campaign. For every two Swan soap wrappers collected and sent to Church World Service, CARE will guarantee delivery of a bar of Swan soap to needy people overseas through C.W.S. channels. Lever Bros. of Cambridge, Mass., has agreed to donate the soap to CARE for this purpose. Paul Comly French, executive director of CARE, says that during a recent world tour he found that the need for soap constitutes a "most pressing health problem for children, new mothers and their babies."

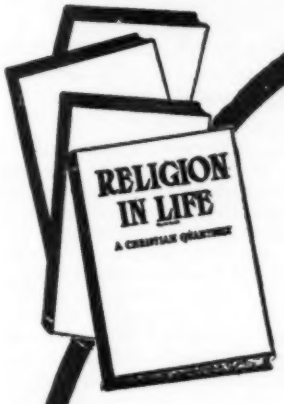
Long Island Diocese Adopts More Stringent Laws

Severe penalties for rectors or vestries who defy the bishop on ousters were voted at the 82nd annual convention of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Long Island, held recently at Cathedral House, Garden City. The canon laws of the diocese were amended to make it possible for the bishop to suspend a disobedient rector from the "exercise of his priestly office" or to take steps to dissociate a recalcitrant vestry from the convention. No retroactive provisos were enacted, so the new law cannot be brought to bear upon the Melish case, which has been much in the news the past weeks. By a voice vote, the convention turned down a proposal that women be permitted to serve on vestries.

Clear Way for Representation In Supreme Court Cases

The executive committee cleared the way for filing of "friend of the court" briefs in

Summer 1949



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cases before the U. S. Supreme Court which involve principles to which the Federal Council is officially committed, with safeguards for churches which might not agree with majority views. Enlargement of the Federal Council's commission on worship to embrace the fine arts, including music and religious drama, was authorized. A meeting of the executive committee in Atlanta Dec. 6 instead of Nov. 15 was tentatively approved. The group, which only occasionally meets outside New York, has been invited to the Georgia city in connection with the southeastern regional convocation sponsored jointly by the Federal Council, the Home Missions Council and the International Council of Religious Education.

Union Seminary Graduates 116 Theologians

At ceremonies in Union Theological Seminary's 113th anniversary commencement here this week, degrees were conferred on 116 students. Next month 57 others will receive degrees through Columbia University. The B.D. degree went to 66 students, the S.T.M. to 19, the Th.D., the seminary's highest, to 33. The school of sacred music awarded its master's degree to 25 students, its certificate of sacred music to 1, and its doctor of sacred music to 2. In the graduation address Dean Emeritus Robert R. Wicks of the Princeton University chapel told the students: "Religion is man's search for that to which he can commit his whole life; the choice between a finite and an infinite attachment is a choice between a closed life and a life that is open to everything."

And So Forth

Ivan Lee Holt, president of the Methodist council of bishops, reports that more than 750,000 new members have been added to Methodist rolls since 1939, when the three branches of Methodism united. Present membership is 8,651,062. Other gains: value of church property, from $704,117,000 to $1,077,449,062; amounts raised annually for all purposes, from $80,543,997 to $196,435,168; Sunday schools, from 32,772 to 37,908. The number of churches has dropped from 46,255 to 40,397, largely because of local mergers.

Nine German church leaders have come to this country to participate in seven study projects under auspices of the National Lutheran Council. All are either specialists or promising workers in particular church fields.

H. Norman Sibley, first president of the Bronx division of the Protestant council of New York city and for 12 years pastor of University Heights Presbyterian Church, informed his congregation Sunday that he intends to resign, effective in September, to pursue further study during 1950.

Bishop Charles K. Gilbert of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of New York notified the diocesan convention last week that he intends to retire Aug. 6, 1950. He urged that a bishop coadjutor with right of succession be chosen at an early convention called for the purpose.

The Russell Sage Foundation buildings, which for more than 30 years have been a center of social welfare education and action, have been sold to the Roman Catholic archbishopric of New York. The foundation will continue to disburse its funds for social welfare causes. J. Henry Carpenter.

Protestants Plan Comity Program

New Community Near Chicago Will Have Church in Each of Six Areas—Chaplains Hold Meeting

Chicago, May 25.—An interesting example of interdenominational cooperation is to be found in Park Forest, new "dream community" being constructed almost overnight on the prairie 29 miles south of the Loop by American Community Builders, Inc. Eventually it will have a population of around 30,000. Recognizing the significant role of religion in creating a real spirit of community, the builders sought the aid of the Greater Chicago church federation in a plan to prevent competition among the various faiths and denominations. They offered to provide free the land upon which churches are to be built, hoping that each church would serve all the residents of a given area. Finding it impossible to secure the cooperation of all the faith groups in such a venture, they consented to the construction of churches of different faiths.

Protestant Cooperation Forthcoming

The church federation undertook to secure the cooperation of Protestant denominations in constructing a Protestant church in each of the six sections into which the four-square-mile tract is to be divided for the purpose of church planning. It invited each communion that might be interested to appoint a representative to a Protestant council which would plan the community program. The Baptist, Congregational Christian, Episcopal, Evangelical and Reformed, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, U.S.A., and United Presbyterian groups responded. The council called Hugo Leinberger, Union Theological Seminary graduate and a returned navy chaplain, to become Protestant chaplain of Park Forest, with the understanding that when the churches were finally established he would not continue as pastor of any one of them. The denominations united in paying his salary. His task was to visit new residents and conduct a survey of their religious preferences, and to direct any program which should precede establishment of churches. Chaplain Leinberger soon became a central person in the community; he was elected chairman of the new community council and of the town meeting. When the new village form of government was organized, the first act of the village board was to vote appreciation of his service and to make him a permanent ex-officio member of the board.

Six Protestant Churches To Serve Area

New families are moving in at the rate of 8 a day. Of the 650 families already settled, 23 per cent are Roman Catholic, 16 Methodist, 13 Presbyterian, 13 Jewish, 9 Episcopalian, 7 Lutheran, 5 Baptist and 5 Congregational Christian, with other Protestant denominations represented in smaller proportions. It has been agreed between American Community Builders and the Protestant council that six Protestant denominations would each build a church in a given section for the purpose of serving all Protestants in that section. One liturgical church probably will be established to serve not only its own section but people from all over the village who prefer a liturgical form of worship. An effort will be made to avoid church names with a distinctly denominational flavor. The residents of Park Forest are proving less denominational-minded than the denominational leaders, and are expressing dissatisfaction with the plan to establish denominational rather than community churches. They represent a fairly high educational level, 75 per cent of the men and 50 per cent of the women having attended college.

Chaplains Hold Training Conference

The three-day 18th annual training conference sponsored here recently by the Military Chaplains Association was attended by 350 chaplains representing the three major faiths. They elected Fred C. Reynolds, superintendent of the Eastern Washington, D. C., district of the Methodist Church, president. They heard N. M. Ylvisaker, who was president of the association 1938-46, declare that "the spiritual emphasis in the work of the chaplain today stands out in contrast to the old days when the necessity of being a 'good fellow' and achieving popularity, particularly in the field of recreation, received the main attention." Chaplain Peter Schroder called on the chaplains to rid themselves of "ecclesiastical isolationism" and to yield to "global strategy."

Urges Church Federation to Work on Gambling, Housing

Speaking at the 41st annual meeting of the church federation of Greater Chicago held last week at First Presbyterian Church, Oak Park, John W. Harms, executive vice-president, characterized gambling and bad housing as the city's greatest evils, and called for 25,000 Protestant laymen to crusade against them. "The so-called housing program is bogged down in selfishness and unchristian racial and religious prejudices," he said. "The time has come when the churches should say plainly and without compromise what is God's design for our community so far as housing is concerned." The annual meeting took the form of an "Amsterdam assembly," with W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, as the principal speaker and delegates who attended the Amsterdam meetings last summer serving as section leaders.

And So Forth

Alumni of Seabury-Western Seminary in Evanston have created an annual lectureship in honor of the late George Craig Stewart, who was Episcopal bishop of Chicago and an alumnus of the school. Alumni of Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston are raising funds for an annual lectureship in honor of Harris Franklin Rall, the seminary's professor of systematic theology.

Matthew Wai, who came to this country from China in 1947 and will graduate this month from Crozer Theological Seminary, Chester, Pa., is to be the new minister of the Chinese Union Church here.

The bill to legalize bingo for charitable, religious or educational purposes was defeated in the Illinois house of representatives

after Protestant forces united in opposition to the measure. It was introduced after State's Attorney George Coutrakon of Sangamon county had forced the closing of bingo games in Catholic churches.

Carl D. Soule of Methodist Commission on World Peace headquarters here and Willard Uphaus of New Haven, Conn., executive secretary of the National Religion and Labor Foundation, will lead a party of 10 churchmen and 10 labor leaders to England this summer to study the relationship of the Christian church to the social changes now taking place under the British Labor party.

The Bahai'ists, holding their 41st annual convention here, announced plans to complete an $800,000 interior for their famed temple on Chicago's north shore.

As part of a plan to create a system of high schools in the Chicago area, the Lutheran high school association of the Missouri Synod has purchased a 10-acre tract on the north side and a 15-acre tract on the south side of the city. The Luther Institute, a high school with 650 students, has been in operation for many years on Chicago's west side.

VIRGIL E. LOWDER.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Africa Screams (UA) Bud Abbott, Lou Costello. *Farce.* Costello is alternately jubilant and frustrated, Abbott superior and conniving—as usual—when the comedians find themselves involved with animals and cannibals on African jaunt. Same old situations and gags, plus brief appearances in animal acts of Frank Buck and Clyde Beatty. *Repetitious,* but certainly lively. M,Y

El Paso (Par.) Henry Hull, Gail Russell, John Wayne. *Melodrama.* Young lawyer visits west Texas, decides to stay on and help former Confederate comrades in legal fight against corrupt law enforcement officers in league with land grabbers. When they get nowhere, he leads them in bloody vigilante action, gains cleanup by force. Glorifies seizing of rights by victims of injustice, while professing to show their mistake. Much of footage gives impression of featuring violence for its own sake. In sickly "cinecolor." *Tough, stilted, regrettable in emphasis.* M,Y

Impact (UA) *Melodrama.* Husband miraculously escapes murder plot hatched by gold-digging wife and her lover. Letting the lover's charred body be taken for his, he starts life anew in small town. But he can't forego revenge, and when he reports to police is himself booked for murder. Last-minute evidence saves him for young widow who aided him. As *phony and sordid* as it sounds. M

Quartet (British film, dist. by Eagle Lion) *Drama.* Separate episodes, each with different actors and director, portray facets of life as presented in four Maugham short stories. Each reveals subtly the virtue or faults of individuals, each is given a sophisticated, ironic twist, each is superbly performed. *Pertinent comment* made dramatically and with insight. M,Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

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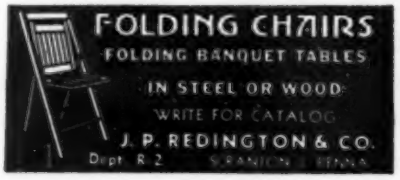

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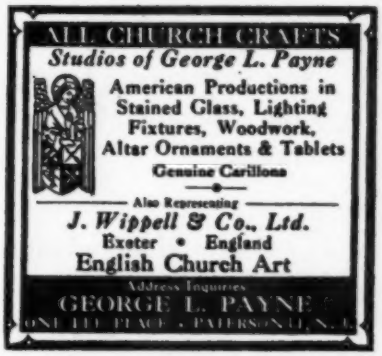
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